The property rights of women are extremely limited; however, even in this direction certain changes are taking place under the influence of the gradual recognition of woman's capacity. These innovations, however, are apparently only beginning to penetrate the consciousness of the Yakuts, and have not yet succeeded in conclusively changing the archaic views, denying property rights to women.

In relations to her own family group the woman is completely without rights: she must marry into a strange clan, and it is understandable that her kinsmen look upon her as a severed member.

Each clan or familial unit, under the influence of the impulse of self-preservation in the struggle for existence, strives insofar as possible to insure its economic existence through the accumulation of wealth. Naturally, it jealously guards its property against transfer into the hands of members of a strange clan; it is here that we must seek the reason for the fact that women have no rights in relation to the property belonging to their kin group. Among the Yakuts, the latter, as is the case everywhere with peoples on a low level of economic development, permits a girl to accumulate property by her personal labor: the product of her personal exertions, whether sewing or other handicraft, becomes part of her possessions, but among the Yakuts, as is the case everywhere, the girl secures the right of ownership of the products of her labor only in the degree that she performs this labor during her hours of leisure and rest, after having performed the household duties which fall to her share. The same rule,

it appears, applies [44] to married women. Woman, as a member of her kin group prior to marriage, and subsequently in the capacity of a worker for her husband and his group, has only a portion of the time for her own use, and the group concedes to her as personal property only what she can produce after satisfying the needs of her father's or her husband's family.

19: Kharuzin -- 44 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut- 1-2
116, 421, 428, 562, 614

The absence of property rights on the part of women in relation to their kin group in graphically expressed in the exclusion of women from inheritance. If the economic and administrative principle lying at the foundation of the family constructed on a blood basis makes quite natural the rule of Yakut customary law, that sisters cannot inherit from brothers, that upon the death of a brother his cultivated land passes to another brother, although the latter might already have a farmstead, then in the exclusion of women from inheritance from the parents, where only daughters survived, we must see a direct consequence of the clan structure, in which the kinsmen vigilantly watch to see that the clan property does not pass to a strange clan, which inevitably happens in the case of the marriage of a girl-legatee.

M. Pripuzov informs us that upon the death of a person survived only by daughters, the legatees are in the first place his brothers, i. e., the uncles on the paternal side. Further, if the father of the deceased is alive, then by the general rule of Yakut customary law in the district investigated, which makes the parents the legatees of their children deceased without issue, he secures a larger share of the inheritance than the other relations. Where death takes place without male issue, the situation is the same as if there were no issue at all. Finally, the remaining relations come in for their share of the inheritance. A part of the property is set aside for the support and subsistence of the daughters, the remainder is divided between the relations with the closer

relations securing a larger part (the father gets more than the rest), while the more distant relatives get a lesser share. A married daughter, like the unmarried daughters, is excluded form sharing in the paternal inheritance; in any case, she cannot inherit her father's cultivated land, and if there are no direct heirs, the farm passes to the closest relations.

19: Kharuzin -- 45-46 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-2
116, 178, 421, 431, 583, 614

In the Sbornik obychnago prava Sibirskikh inorodtser (Compilation of the Customary Law of the Siberian Natives), issued by Mr. Samokvasov (pp. 221-22), reference is made to the rule of the Yakut customary law, whereby "the dowry is paid as compensation to the bridegroom and his relatives for the payment of the kalym ; the dowry is given in cattle, clothes and sometimes in money, amounting to one half of the stipulated kalym; the bride may not have a dowry valued at less that half the kalym, while a larger dowry, sometimes exceeding the entire kalym (which very rarely happens), depends upon the will of her parents." Mr. Sieroszewski also remarks that the payment made to the parents of the bride as well as the gifts presented to the relatives and match-makers by the bridegroom are subsequently returned to the bridegroom in the form of dowry and gifts. It is only the expenses connected with the reception and "other insignificant additional expenditures" that the bridegroom pays without being reimbursed. Unlike the kalym, the dowry does not constitute an indispensable element in marriage. Although the relatives of the bridegroom receive the bride rather coolly if she brings to her new household less than was anticipated, and although quarrels and lawsuits ensue if she brings a dowry smaller than agreed upon, in some cases the parents do not give any dowry even if they receive a considerable kalym. Public opinion censures such actions, but the mere fact that such actions take place gives support to the opinions of Mr. Sieroszewski that dowries are a comparatively late institution among the Yakuts; on the

other hand, this explains the fact that up to the present time, according to Mr. Pripuzov it was the custom in the Yakutsk region not to make arrangements concerning the dowry and that the size of the dowry depended completely on the good will of the parents. [46]

The return of the whole or a part of the kalym to the clan or family of the bridegroom is the ordinary source of the dowry; this practice develops principally in the period of decline of the custom of purchasing one's wife, when the formerly dominant custom of purchasing the bride gradually loses its inherent sense and continues to maintain itself through tradition. But the Yakuts of the locality investigated by Mr. Pripuzov apparently have not yet elaborated definite rules, regulating the size of the dowry: all depends on the will of the father, which carries us to that period of development of the dowry, when the latter did not yet constitute a stable institution, and was given by the parents out of a desire to better the position of the daughter given in marriage in her husband's clan group by the return of a part of the kalym, to dispose the strange clan group favorably toward the young woman. Obviously, in this form the dowry has nothing in common with a distribution to the girl of a part of the property of her kin group. Her family does not deprive itself of the smallest part of its own property: the marriage is consummated at the expense of the bridegroom, and the family of the bride only denies itself, and that often only to a certain extent, the acquisition of the property which is a product of the sale of the daughter into a strange clan.

19: Kharuzin --46-47 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 421, 428, 562, 583, 614

Neither Mr. Pripuzov, nor, as far as we know, any other investigators of the customary law of the Yakuts, have given us a clear answer to the question as to the relationship in which the personally earned property of the girl stands to her dowry. Is this personal property.. [47]..combined with the dowry given by the parents, or does it form a separate type of female personal ownership among the Yakuts? We do not know. As concerns the dowry given by the parents at the time of the daughter's marriage, the absence of rights on the part of the woman in the agnatic group of her husband, as well as the very origin of the dowry in the returned part of the kalym, render completely natural the rule of Yakut customary law, whereby the woman is not the owner of her dowry. The latter, writes Mr. Pripuzov, "is completely at the disposal of the husband." The husband is the owner of his wife's dowry; he answers to no one for his squandering of it. A logical consequence of this order of things are the following rules, noted by Mr. Pripuzov, in the Yakutsk district: 1. In the case of the death of the wife the dowry is not returned, but passes to the husband and his children. 2. In the case of the death of the husband, if the couple had no children of the male sex, the wife can take her dowry and return to her parents. But she can only have the dowry back under the condtition that her husband made a disposition in that sense before his death: in its absence, the dowry, as a part of the familial-clan property, passes to the closest relatives of the deceased, and the wife has no right to claim it back from the heirs.

19: Kharuzin --54 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 421, 428, 594, 614

The patriarchal principle in the Yakut family finds its expression in the right of the eldest son to dispose absolutely as he pleases with the family property. Under the prevailing custom for the grown-up, married sons to separate, as a result of which the eldest son exercises supremacy only over young children and bachelors, it is perfectly natural for the eldest son to have the right to alienate a part of the family property or to augment it by purchases, without the consent of the remaining members of the family. But although he is an independent agent over the family property with respect to the members of his own family, the eldest son nevertheless finds himself under the control of the clan. The eldest son must find the means for the punctual payment of taxes and the fulfillment of obligations; therefore if he is found to be squandering the family property the clan administration has the right to remove him from his position of responsibility. Moreover, the eldest son, having the right to rent out or mortgage the portion of the family land which has fallen to his share, connot exchange it for another without the knowledge of the clan elders.

Into the make-up of the family property go the earnings of a son who has not separated; but the latter can have his own personal property; an inheritance from a grandfather or grandmother, or presents, constitute his own personal porperty, of which the father cannot always dispose without the consent of the son: the father, for example, cannot take it, or alienate it, without the consent of the son.

19: Kharuzin -- 55-56 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-3
116, 421, 591, 594

Upon coming of age, the Yakut, if married, seeks to separate from the paternal household and establish his own. The allotment made to the son depends on the will of the father, who has the right to make an allotment to a son even during the lifetime of the grandfather, if the father is simultaneously the manager of the household. Although the size of the son's share is fixed by the father, from the Yakut point of view the father cannot deprive his son of a share in the family property except in cases of insulting conduct on the part of the son toward the father or where the son arbitrarily leaves the family. In the latter instance, the eldest member of the family, whether the father or someone else, can let the wayward son depart without a share in the family property, permitting him to take only his personal property and the dowry of his wife.

In cases of insulting conduct on the part of the son toward the father, the son is deprived of any right to the family property, as a useless or even harmful member of the family community; in cases of arbitrary departure, his right to the property suffers only temporarily, for upon the death of the father he has the right to secure his own share.

Once having made an allotment to a son, the father no longer has the right to take back the alloted property. Inasmuch as the allotments are customarily made in the degree that the sons come of age and get married, it is quite natural that the division of the family property during the life of the father does not take place at one time. The member of the family who receives his share now sets up his own yurt and farmstead. Inasmuch

as the summer pastures and farm lands are not divided according to the number of souls, the Yakut can set up his yurt anywhere on the land. The cheapness of construction of Yakut dwelling and household structures has the consequence that these do not enter into the division, inasmuch as the construction of a new winter and summer yurt requires neither great labor nor expense. The separated son sets up his own household completely independent; he severs all property ties with his father and remaining brothers, and upon the death of his father he receives no share in the division of the family property.

Having made allotments to all his sons, the father has left for himself [56] a certain share of the general property, which he can divide before his death among the future lagatees, or he can - and in this we note the influence of the new conditions of life of the Yakuts - in theory deprive the direct heirs of their inheritance and transfer his own share to other persons or will his property for the saying of prayers for his soul or for works of charity. The limitations upon the rights of the testator will be indicated below.

Frequent allotments, constituting a routine phenomenon in the Yakut family, give property relations between parents and children a definite imprint: the authority of the father over the person of the son ends with his receipt of an allotment, and each Yakut seeks for an allotment as soon as he is married or has come of age. Thus, although in theory the legal views of the Yakuts assign considerable authority to the father, in practice the latter principally functions only in relation to his under-age or bachelor sons, which to a considerable extent undermines the patriarchal character of the Yakut family.

19: Kharuzin -- 55-56 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-3
116, 421, 591, 594

The conditions of a semi-nomadic life undoubtedly ease the problems of family property division, and among the Yakuts one notes a phenomenon that is not without interest: the dominance of the so-called "small family" in a situation in which traces of clan existence are still very much alive.

Not all the property, however, is subject to division: a part of it remains in the general possession of the co-heirs (fishing-seines, fenced-off pastures etc.). In additon, before proceeding to the division, a special part of the general property is put aside to cover debts or tax delinquencies. It is natural that an adopted son, (1) taken into a house

1. The parents of the adopted child, having given it away to a strange family, sometimes want it back; in that case they are obliged to pay to the adoptive father all the costs of raising the child. Under the influence of the Russians, the Yakuts have begun to display a scornful attitude toward illegitmates. Formerly, when freedom of relations prevailed, illegitimate children were not differentiated from legitimate. At present there is even a special proverb among the Yakuts concerning the illegitimate children: "born was he by night, christened by the pool's side, the dew was his bedding, the mist was his covering." Children born out of wedlock to a sister who lives with her brothers, upon the death of the father are considered, in the words of Mr. Priklonski Tri Goda v I͡Akutskoi oblasti (Three Years in the Yakutsk Region, p. 80) "to have full rights and inherit in shares the property belonging to their mother."

where there are no sons, should be the heir to the movable and immovable property of

19: Kharuzin -- 57 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 177, 421, 597, 848

the adoptive father, since adoption is ordinarily resorted to with the object of having an heir. Mr. Pripuzov does not enlighten us as to the position of adopted sons in the presence of sons who are heirs, not as to that of illegitimate children, who are sometimes adopted.

19: Kharuzin --62 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 178, 421, 614, 621

One must keep in mind that at present the community of neighbors has taken the place of the agrarian community of kinsmen, and that certain rights, formerly belonging to the kinsmen, have passed to the former. Besides occupation, labor, increment, the Yakuts also recognize finding, barter, purchase and gifts as sources of rights to property.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Men's snow goggles.

There were certain traces of matriarchy still to be found. For example, in the old times several Dolgan families living in one dwelling would elect a communal housewife, to whom all the men were subordinate. Until quite recently, maternal kinship was considered closer than paternal kinship among the Dolgans. The women kept the fire going and "fed it," and also supervised the family sacred relics. Clan organization among the Dolgans fell into abeyance in the 19th century.

The development of trade and the introduction of improved techniques into the principal occupation of the Dolgans, that is to say hunting, led to the acquisition of furs on a personal level. Furs had long been an item of trade. Their commercial importance had an effect on the relations among the Dolgans in the field of distribution. Products from reindeer-hunting or fishing had to be divided among relatives and neighbors, while furs (polar-fox or sable) were considered the absolute property of the hunter and were left untouched. An important factor in the social differentiation of the Dolgans was the concentration of the bulk of the reindeer herds, which were not particularly numerous as a whole, in the hands of a small group of rich households. This became a basis for different forms of exploitation: such as the loaning of reindeer to poor people who then became dependent on the richer reindeer-breeders, the hiring of herdsmen, mainly orphans or poor relatives, and so on. Nomadic groups were often formed through the congregation of poorer households around a richer reindeer-breeder, who made use of his neighbors' labor for pasturing and watching the herd. In the second half of the 19th century petty Russian commercial travelers appeared among the Dolgans, together with Yakut merchants who exploited their kinsmen.

Nevertheless, the economic production and distribution among the Dolgans retained numerous traces of the original communal relationships. This includes the above-mentioned collective forms of hunting (cuttings, spearings), joint fowling, fishing and so forth. Although the means of production for hunting and fishing had long since become private property, the booty

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421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter 224 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but 226 keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type, 882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

771 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the ex- 776 ternal, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, in- 756 vading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were [171] the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaans. The 776 saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk) [531] Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed

The personal property of the collective-farm members includes herds of reindeer (up to 100 head), transport equipment, vertical nets, hunting guns and hunting and fishing tackle. Reindeer-herding remains the chief branch of the economy, but is now done in accordance with good animal husbandry practice. A reindeer technician and a veterinary assistant are attached to each team, which looks after a subherd.]

The Dolgan reindeer-herders on the collective farms pasture the herds in good grazing ground, far from the herding tent by day, and as night falls drive them back to the tent. Having rested, the reindeer at midnight begin to feed near the tent; at dawn they are driven to new feeding grounds some distance away. This grazing system, on the one hand, keeps the reindeer well fed and, on the other hand, they do not stray during the night and are easy to watch. Twenty-four-hour-a-day, year-round guarding of the reindeer has become a rule in collective herding.

[The herd of reindeer is constantly growing. Thus, in the Avamskiy Rayon, the number of reindeer increased over the last five-year period, by more than 50%. The necessity of yearly migrations along the tundra from Dudinka to the Anabar has been eliminated; previously this had a most unfavorable effect on Dolgan reindeer-herding. The demand for pack-reindeer has been reduced, due to the carriage of goods into the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons by the Northern Sea Route; from here they are brought to remote inland points by steamboat or cutter. Previously, the only route connecting the Dudinka with the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons in the winter was the reindeer highway from Dudinka to Popigay. Connections are now maintained winter and summer by airplane, although reindeer transport is still of some importance. Its technology is unchanged.

[Hunting technology has been reconstructed. Traps are set in the autumn before the beginning of the blizzards. For this purpose, hunting brigades sometimes journey to the north for several hundred kilometers into the taiga, spending the nights in sled-tents with iron stoves. Hunting brigades are made up before the beginning of the season, traps being distributed on the basis of 150–200 pitfall traps and 10 springtraps per hunter. With the first snow the brigades go out into the tundra and begin to hunt wild reindeer. Foxtraps are baited with the surplus meat obtained. In the Khatangskiy Rayon alone, where the majority of the hunters are Dolgans, the collective farms during the 1948–49 season set 5000 new pitfall traps and prepared 1000 bait-pits for foxes, in which they placed more than 40 tons of bait.

[Fox-hunting begins on November 15th. Springtraps are placed by experienced hunters at places where wild reindeer have been killed in the autumn, or on the bloody tracks of wounded wild reindeer near bait-pits, or previously discovered burrows. Hunting is the main source of income for Dolgan collective farms. The previous predatory methods have gone out of use—spearings, stockades, geese nets. Fishing has become important in a number of areas. Vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry (other than reindeer) have developed on many Dolgan collective farms. The members grow chiefly radishes, cabbage and onions.

[A process of settling down the previously nomadic population is in progress. In the new settlements where the collective-farm members whose work does not make them nomadic live, dwelling-houses of the Russian type have been built, along with various other farm and public buildings. Many settlements have their own electric stations.]

The members of reindeer-herding and hunting brigades lead a nomadic life. Their families frequently travel with them. Separate nomadic groups are now set up, not on the basis of individual relations among different